THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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THE ROSYTH RENT STRIKE.

RENT STRIKE
WE ARE NOT REMOVING.

Entering Rosyth "Garden City" one notices at once cards bearing this inscription in the windows.

Rosyth is like a very far-away reminiscence of middle-class Letchworth, a very cheap, gim crack edition of the same idea. The houses are tiny, the gardens are tiny. Rosyth's only claim to be called a "garden city" is that it has been erected in the midst of fine open country, and that no factory smoke darkens its atmosphere. The vast majority of its inhabitants are the workers in the Government dockyard and their families.

The 1,600 houses are all much alike in appearance. Their roofs are of slate and their walls of grey cement. It is said that they cost £500 each to build, and are expected to last only ten years. The former statement is the more amazing to those who have seen the houses. Evidently some very gross profiteering was engaged in if the houses cost so much. Building operations began in 1915, and in June, 1916, the first tenants moved in, but already the houses are the worse for wear and cracks are common.

The outer walls are of old brick covered with cement. The party walls are of compressed breeze, in other words, compressed cinders, plastered over. The ordinary ceiling laths are dispensed with; the plaster is attached to wire netting, which is tacked to the beams. In one house the ceiling has twice fallen, and once it hurt the baby rather badly. Green wood was used for the doors and other woodwork; it has shrunk badly and has a tendency to split; one can see daylight through the cracks; the woodwork is stained with creosote paint, which looks rough and unfinished. The interior walls are thinly colour-washed. Most of the houses consist of a living-room, a tiny scullery and two or three bedrooms: all the rooms are small. Each house has a bath—the best feature of the dwellings. Some of the houses have no cooking range, only a gas cooker in the scullery; some have an open, barless grate and oven in the living-room, others an ordinary parlour grate.

The rents vary from 6/9 to 11/1 per week, without rates, which average 2/3 per week. There is electric light in all the houses; its cost averages 9d. per week. Gas for the cooking stoves is very expensive and so poor that it takes a long time to cook the meals.

Women complain that they are paying more rent for smaller houses than before they came here.

Some curious circumstances surround the building and ownership of these houses. In 1914 the Scottish National Housing Company, of 111, Great George-street, Edinburgh, was formed. It is said that the Government called on philanthropic gentlemen to form it in order to build working-class houses at Rosyth and elsewhere. The Government guaranteed nine-tenths of the capital necessary, and began by providing a million. The Government only asked for one representative from the Scottish Local Government Board on the Housing Board of Management. The Dunfermline Town Council took 250 £1 shares, only 10s. a share being paid up. It claimed two representatives, Provost Norval and ex-Provost Harley. The philanthropic gentlemen took 22,000 £1 shares, 10s. a share being paid up, and control all the other seats on the Board of Management.

The philanthropic gentlemen are guaranteed by the Government five per cent. dividend on paid-up shares: the dividend is limited to five per cent., but an unlimited bonus on share capital may be paid. If the company does not make profits amounting to five per cent., the taxpayers supply the philanthropic gentlemen with the difference; if the profits are more than five per cent. the philanthropists can pay themselves a bonus. The Government, which has contributed nine-tenths of the capital, comes off with a smaller share: it is to be paid 3½ per cent. interest on its capital.

Why are the philanthropic gentlemen required at all, since their services are so expensive?

Five hundred more houses are to be built. If the cost of building be more than the original contract price the Government will find the difference. The tenants claim that the Admiralty should build these houses and that the management of all the houses in the village should be by the tenants.

In the meantime the tenants are claiming also a 50 per cent. reduction in rent, and 1,400 out of the 1,600 householders are on strike. Summonses against 24 of the strikers, issued at the demand of the Scottish National Housing Company, were to be heard at the Dunfermline Sheriff's Court on Tuesday, July 21st.

It was decided that the tenants should turn out in force and march in procession to the court. The women street captains who had been active in organising the strike and checkmating the collectors, were mobilised to deter the men of the villages from going to work in the dockyard that day and to persuade as many as possible from Edinburgh and other districts to co-operate. From Rosyth village only about 200 men went to work, and upwards of 3,000 people assembled to march to Dunfermline. Order was kept by the women captains with whistles attached to white ribbons. The trams that passed the marchers were crowded with cheering people making for the Court House, and the vicinity of the court was packed with people before the procession arrived.

The Sheriff's Court is crowded with women rent strikers. The drowsy formalities connected with the recovery of many debts and the punishment of some few poor prisoners is interrupted by the crashing noise of the rent strike band, loud cheering, the tramp of thousands, the blowing of whistles.

The name of one of the rent strikers is called. The strikers' lawyer is parleying with the Sheriff. The women's faces have grown more anxious: their necks are outstretched as though each one were seeking to concentrate all her will power to lend more force to the man who speaks for them at the table. The noise is growing, the cheers rise higher: one could imagine the Court room a little tower that sways and bends in the storm wrought by the impatient people and may come crashing down.

The proceedings in here are very tame, very futile. The strikers' lawyer objects that the Housing Company may not be entitled to sue; it may not be the actual landlord. He tells the Sheriff of the rent strike; says that negotiations are in progress—not with the Housing Company, but with the Admiralty, that Lord Lytton on the Admiralty's behalf has met the tenants—the Scottish National Housing Company seems to be merely acting as rent collector.

"You say they are not the owners: have you proof?" asks the Sheriff.

The strikers' lawyer asks that the document proving the ownership shall be brought into Court.

The Sheriff is bored, he asks: "Why does your client insist on occupying the property?"

"He occupies it as an employee of the Admiralty: the property was furnished to him by the Admiralty."

The Sheriff does not care who is the landlord: the tenant must pay the rent or clear out, that is all that appeals to him as material, but that noise outside seems to compel consideration. He agrees to adjourn the case till Tuesday, but no longer.

The strikers' lawyer argues that if a longer adjournment were granted the dispute might be settled, but the Sheriff says that can be arranged for by making the decree of eviction operative not within 48 hours, but after a longer period. Evidently he firmly intends to order evictions.

The Court empties. The case is over. The strikers congregate in the parks; there are meetings, dancing, a picnic lunch.

People are saying a victory has been scored: it is only a postponement. And what next?

Will the Lords of the Admiralty and the philanthropic profiteers of the Housing Association grant the 50 per cent. reduction in rent? Or will they proceed to evict the strikers? 1,400 people cannot be evicted without great violence or without masses of police, and perhaps the aid of soldiers. Can soldiers and police be induced to lend themselves to such work?

THE PROTEST STRIKE IN GERMANY

"La Feuille" the Geneva daily gives the following particulars of the International Strike in Germany and Austria :—

GERMANY.

At Berlin the strike was partial. The tramways and Underground stopped work, but the city railways and omnibuses continued to circulate. As this, however, was not sufficient for the traffic, emergency vehicles had to be brought out, as during the Berlin transport strike.

In the gasworks and municipal electric power stations work was completely suspended, but a supply of gas was assured by "reserves." In other factories work went on so that there was little interruption of the water supply. The big shops were open. The open-air meeting planned by the Independents did not take place as advertised, owing to its being prohibited by Noske. Meetings were held in the suburbs, but there were no demonstrations in the centre of Berlin. The Government took care to concentrate troops to see that the prohibition to hold meetings was obeyed. "Vorwärts" for July 21st denounced the strike as 'a new crime against the German people,' saying that Germany's only hope lay in work and production, and exhorting the workers to 'put no trust in those who were destroying their future prospects.'

At Halle all electrical, gas and tramway workers went on strike. No newspapers were published. At Brunswick the stoppage was complete.

THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

Part II.

Soldiers Champion Police.

Last week we saw that the Capitalist Committee of 1,000, which had been organised to fight the strikers, put its own police force on the streets; and that when the matter was reported to the Winnipeg City Council, no action was taken.

On May 29th the Mayor announced that the city police had been ordered to sign the following undertaking. If they failed to sign before one o'clock on May 31st they were to be dismissed instantly. Undertakings similar to that drawn up for the firemen were now made compulsory for all the Council's employees:—

"To Board of Commissioners of Police of the City of Winnipeg:—

"1. I hereby acknowledge that the supreme governing power of the Police Force is vested in the Police Commissioners and in the Police Commissioners alone, and I hereby agree to observe the orders, rules and regulations of said Police Commissioners at all times.

"2. I further agree that I will not join or remain a member of any union or association which is directly or indirectly in affiliation with any other organisation to whose orders, directions or recommendations such union or association or its members are obliged or agree to observe or conform, or act in concert with; that I will be governed by and observe and comply with all rules and regulations in force from time to time for the management of the force in which I may be employed, whether prescribed by the Police Commissioners or the Chief Constable; that I will not take part in or support or favour what is known as a sympathetic strike; and that upon a breach of any of the above conditions occurring I shall be liable to instant dismissal from the Force.

"3. I hereby acknowledge that I have received a copy of the rules and regulations governing the Department and agree to obey same.

"Dated at the City of Winnipeg, this day of May, 1919.

"Name .....

"Rank .....

"In answer to this the following resolution was passed by a mass meeting of the members of the Winnipeg Policemen's Union held in the Police Court Room, May 30th, 1919:——"

Next morning, May 30th, 2,000 returned soldiers waited upon Norris, the Provincial Prime Minister, to protest against this ultimatum to the police, to demand that it be withdrawn, and that legislation should be introduced making it compulsory for employers to recognise collective bargaining by their employees, whether through craft unions, industrial unions, trades councils, or trades federations. On May 31st, 10,000 soldiers returned for the Premier's answer. His only reply was that the sympathetic strike must be called off before the Government could act. Leaving the Provincial Parliament the soldiers went on to the City Hall; the Council hurriedly adjourned when they appeared, and the Mayor, who attempted to address them, had nothing better to say than that there must be no strikes on public utilities. The returned soldiers were persistent; they were back at the Provincial Legislature again next morning, but could get nothing definite from Norris. He did not know whether it would be possible to convene a special session of the Legislature to deal with collective bargaining, the representatives of the whole people would have to be consulted. The Mayor and Council had fled before the soldiers had reached the City Hall.

The Mayor and Premier both declared that they could do nothing; nevertheless two things happened: the dismissal of the police was suspended for the moment, and an Order in Council was passed giving the military authorities power to put the city of Winnipeg under martial law. A net was being drawn around the workers, to whom the appeal of their leaders was continually: "*Do nothing.*"

Rumours of plots to plant bombs on strike leaders were now afloat, and these rumours were referred to both in the *Western Labour News* and by the soldiers in their interview with the Premier.

We wonder whether the stories of bomb outrages in Winnipeg which were reported in the British Press have any foundation. Certainly no other bomb plots than these which did not come off are referred to in the strikers' own newspaper.

But another plot actually materialised in the shape of a forged telegram sent out to trick the workers in the railway shops, who were now striking in many cities. Here is the telegram:—

G.N.W. WIRE.

Winnipeg, Man., May 31st.

J. W. Walsh, Sioux Lookout,

At meeting last night it was decided to instruct all shop railway foremen, except Transcona and Winnipeg, to resume work at once, and each member must contribute one dollar per day towards maintenance all local members in Winnipeg.

We are badly in need of funds, collect all possible at once and mail by registered letter to Treasurer Trades and Labour Council, Winnipeg. See all further amounts come by assessment forwarded weekly, and return to work not later than Monday morning.

Robinson 1,040.

The telegram's instruction to use the mails exposed the forgery. The railway workers did not believe their comrades would make use of scab postmen, even to help the strike; they sent personal messengers to Winnipeg, and so discovered the truth.

The Soldiers' Parliament.

On June 3rd the soldiers assembled for another march to the Legislative Assembly and City Hall, but their leaders, on learning that they were to be waylaid by free drinks to the extent of 300 gallons of beer, persuaded them to send deputations to the Mayor and the Premier, and to march in force to Victoria Park. So began the daily meetings which were called the Soldiers' Parliament.

An opposition soldiers' parade, organised by the Committee of 1,000, was held on June 4th. It only numbered 700 or 800, though a hundred cars had been sent to bring soldiers from Tuxedo and though many who marched in it stated afterwards that they had joined it by mistake. The banners in no way indicated that the procession was opposed to the strike or promoted by the Committee of 1,000. Under one of the banners, inscribed "Down with the high cost of living," walked a certain Mr. E. Parnell, who was a leader in increasing the price of bread a short time before.

The soldier strikers replied with another parade of 10,000, and on the following day a still larger procession started, but turned back at the request of the police, because the Mayor had issued a proclamation forbidding all parades.

Upwards of thirty cities had by this time joined the general strike, including Vancouver, Calgary, Smithers, Lethbridge, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Prince Albert, Radville, Brandon, Minnedosa, Reddett, Sioux Lookout, Dauphin, Melville, Kamsack, Neepawa, Atikokan, Rainy River, Fort Frances, Hudson Bay Junction, McBride, Toronto, Port Arthur, Fort William, Souris, Victoria and Hanna.

Militant capitalism was determined to checkmate the workers, whose courage and solidarity were growing so amazingly. Militant capitalism began to use the uglier tactics for which it had steadily been preparing, but of that we shall tell next week.

To be continued.

NEWS FROM GREECE.

The Official Socialist Party of Greece which has two members of Parliament, held its Annual Conference in June.

The proceedings were markedly revolutionary. A bold tactical step was taken in the decision that industrial organisations not based on the class struggle, are not merely useless, but positively injurious to the cause of Socialism. Therefore only those industrial organisations should be encouraged to affiliate the majority of whose members are class conscious.

A resolution was adopted unanimously laying emphasis on the present dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, advocating the control of all industries by the workers, and the restitution of the land to the village communes, demanding an amnesty for political offences and declaring against both Monarchies and bourgeois republics.

A resolution by Comrade Benoroya declared against the Camouflaged League of International Capital under the false title of League of Nations, saw the only hope of harmonious co-operation in the true International of the toilers and demanded that the Greek Government should open relations with the Soviet Republics,

A resolution of the Salonica branch of the Party was carried with important modifications:

"The Greek Socialist Party, regarding the treachery to the Socialist ideal, displayed by various groups within the Second International, in making common cause with the respective bourgeois Governments co-operating with them for imperialistic aims with complete disregard of the class struggle, and in view of the fact that the Second International, which met recently in Berne and Amsterdam, has taken no steps against those treacherous groups and is too weak to rid itself of them. The Greek Socialist Labour Party resolves to secede from the Second International, condemning its opportunist tactics, and authorises the Central Executive to take steps to join the Third International of Moscow. In the meantime the Greek party will continue its relationship only with those sections of the Second International which have been true to Socialist Principles,"

C.T.C.

RAILWAY CLERKS AND REACTION.

A. G. Walkden, Secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association, issued a special circular on July 1st advising members of the association not to join the French-Italian-British "Hands off Russia" strike on July 20th and 21st, and refusing to accept any responsibility for abstentions from work. Walkden also advised the railway clerks not to support the strike on the North-Eastern. Evidently he disapproves of the sympathetic strike, but such old-fashioned men will have to be scrapped.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

What will the poor Russians do, Henry, when we withdraw our troops, I often wonder. What is going on now is bad enough. Nationalisation of women, and burying priests alive, and chopping off the ears of arch-bishops. For further particulars see *The Ukraine* and the *Bulletin* of the anti-Bolsh capitalists in London.

When I look at Russia, I am glad to be in my peaceful little two unfurnished, hot and cold, ten minutes' sprint to miss train. And when I read in the papers how the whites and blacks are having it out in that free country over the big drink, I just light another cigarette and blow rings at the photo of Gwendolen on my mantelpiece.

Down to date there are twenty-seven whites killed as against thirty-one niggers, and still going strong. There are two thousand military outside the city, so we can look for the figures going up a bit higher when the shooting starts.

But, really, I sometimes sigh for the excitement. Not that I am a militarist in the strict sense of the word. I believe in a strong army and a powerful navy and a mighty air fleet. To protect the peace, of course. But I like to see a fight now and again.

In such cases I always admire these things at a distance. The farther off the better. Say 3,000 miles. Then I just go wild with one side just winning, and then the blacks roast somebody in a house and that's one up to them. The whites get hold of a nigger and hang him and then pour kerosene on him and burn him to ashes. That fetches things up even a bit more, and I go out and buy the "Final Edition," just to see if there isn't another murder in the stop press columns.

I have been studying murders lately. I find them a healthy exercise. They sort of stimulate the blood and just make me feel as if I could fetch a swipe across someone. I solemnly assure you, Henry, that I would just go crazy over the idea of dropping a coke hammer over somebody's head, if you would tie him up securely for me. That is the latest fashion in killing nowadays.

It must not be supposed that I am morbid. I just take a healthy interest in it all: a sort of dispassionate weighing up of this and that, like a scientist does the amount of sand in sugar or the water in milk. I just regard them as killings, because murder is merely a name and you call it anything you like, it's just a kill, in the same way as a sportsman says when he has just sent two elephants and fourteen lions and tigers across the Great Divide.

I picked up the "Great Divide" from the pictures. They are a good thing, the pictures. I simply sit up and yell when the inspector says, "Get on their track at once, and when you get at them, shoot, and shoot to kill!" That is what I call giving them the stuff.

I have been looking down my paper lately, and I find plenty of excitement in it for the month of July. On the Glorious Fourth, when the Americans were letting off fireworks and fizz, somebody got it bad in a Hendon shop. Head simply smashed in, and bloodstains on the curtains. And, what's more, a face at the window. You figure up that face, just fresh from the killing, as it were.

Then the next day, a girl shot at Leicester. Riding serenely along on her bicycle, when she just got one shot in the head and rolled over. Murderer got away. Tall chap on a green bicycle.

Further down the list, we don't seem to have anything real good till we come to the 23rd, when a man starts shooting and kills his wife and wounds two Aussies, and then turns it on himself. Two days after a nurse is shot dead outside a hospital in Liverpool. And the same day a girl's body is found buried in Kilburn.

The next day a girl strangled in a mill-yard in Hyde. Two days later another girl found strangled in Finsbury Park. And the day previous a woman is found dead, battered and bruised in Edinburgh. Then last of all, a soldier is thrown out of a railway carriage, foul play suspected.

Some list, you will agree. And for July only, not counting any murderous attempts, suicides, or woundings. Certainly the old country can give Chicago points when she really wakes up. For mind you, we have only just signed the Peace, so we can't have had a fair start.

But here comes the "Voice of Labour" (Dublin) to give us a leg up. The chap who made out that list, Henry, was a real shirker. He has only gone through one issue of the *Sunday Chronicle*, and this is what he finds:—

Liverpool.—Thirteen men charged with attempted murder of three policemen. Many persons injured. Negro drowned.

Newport (Mon.).—Serious riots—30 wounded, 28 arrests.

Rhyl.—Bank held up by armed soldiers and £70 stolen.

Cambridge.—Man and wife shot.
Maryport.—J.P.'s teeth knocked out.
Westminster.—Woman commits suicide.
Bethnal Green.—Two children murdered with ham knife.

London, N.E.—Woman murdered in flat.
Aldershot.—Civilian shot.
Fulbeck.—Girl murdered.
Staines.—Vicar fined for pouring hot water on dog.

The writer, however, sort of apologises for his shortcomings, by telling us that there are several divorces, bigamies and other small fry, as it were, in the offing.

But there is really no need to think the old country is just waking up in the blood department. She was quite as good before the war, and at work only, mind you

DENIKIN'S METHODS IN CAUCASUS.

Issued by the Circassian Press Bureau July 11.

Throughout the Caucasus a grave struggle between Denikin and the North Caucasian Republic is the order of the day. His Army is composed in great part of officers of the old régime. He is abundantly supplied by the Entente with arms, war material and munitions. A lively agitation is spreading amongst the Caucasian population. The Circassian Government has addressed a strog protest to the Allied representatives. It was read in the Parliament by M. Kozof, the premier, in the following terms:—

"During the whole period of our government we have taken part neither for nor against Russia. We have given assistance to all those who sought a refuge with us. Russia, on the word of Russians themselves, can only nourish feelings of gratitude towards us.

"We had the right to expect that Denikin's Army of volunteers would entertain no aggressive designs towards us. We were deceived.

"We do not want war. We have made many concessions. General Denikin demands not only that we should recognise his authority but requires us to furnish him with troops. The people of Daghestan, for example, have been asked to supply 3 regiments of cavalry, 8 of infantry, and 3 squadrons of artillery, all fully equipped."

The Premier concluded by declaring that all the Caucasian peoples are agreed that they must fight to the end against the common enemy. The declararion of war, followed by mobilisation of all men between the ages of 18 and 40, has been notified to the Allies' representative in the Caucasus who, on his side, has asked the forces of the Circassian Republic to remain on the defensive.

This new conquest of the Caucasus undertaken by the "black general"—for so Denikin is generally called— has put all the other Caucasian Republics in a ferment—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan. All strongly protest against the invasion of Denikin's volunteers.

"La Feuille," July 22nd.

M. ALEXINSKY AND THE BOLSHEVIKI.

A competent Russian authority informs us that M. Gregor Alexinsky, the author of the recent scurrilous attack on the Bolsheviki circulated by the Russian Liberation Committee, was formerly a prominent member of the Bolshevik party. He became an extremely well-known figure in the Second Duma, being practically leader of the party group. The forcible dissolution of that assembly in 1907 found him abroad, and he consequently did not return to Russia until after the Revolution. After a few years the Bolshevik section of the Social-Democratic Labour Party became too moderate for him, and he drifted into a species of anarcho-syndicalism, which did not prevent him, in 1912, from publishing an extremely able and brilliant book on Russia, attacking Tsardom from the Socialist point of view this work has since been translated into English.

At the outbreak of the war he became an ardent patriot, and carried on an energetic agitation in this sense with the co-operation of G. V. Plekhanov, the former Bolshevik leader.

After the Revolution of March, 1917, he returned to Russia, and joined Plekhanov's "Social-patriotic" group, "Edinstvo" (Unity)—a group which, in spite of the veteran names associated with it, was denied representation in the Soviet on account of its insignificant size and negligible influence. This, of course, was during the ascendency of Kerensky, when the majority of the Soviet was still Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary. In July, the first forged documents, intended to prove that Lenin was a German agent in the pay of the German Government, appeared over M. Alexinsky's signature, with a personal guarantee of their genuineness—this in spite of the fact that he had been a personal friend and a pupil of Lenin's, and was intimately acquainted with his activities in the movement from the first.

It was he, also, who wrote the most virulent and lying attack on the 607th (Mlyn) Regiment, when that unit was falsely made the scapegoat by Main Headquarters for the breakdown of the offensive on July 19th; and it was to him that the chief reproaches of the regiment and army concerned were directed when the real facts were established and their honour vindicated. He continued his agitation right up to the establishment of the Soviet régime in November, 1917, when he went into hiding, but was discovered and arrested. He had not yet been tried, however, when his release was granted under the general amnesty; he then left Russia and has not returned since.—(Communicated by the People's Information Bureau, 152, Fleet-st., London, E.C.).

RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN GERMANY.

"La Feuille," July 21st, 1919.

"The Council of Five dealt yesterday with the question of the repatriation of Russian prisoners in Germany. Up to the present, these prisoners have been fed at the Allies' expense. But, seeing that food is getting more scarce, and that the treaty with Germany is about to be ratified, the question arises as to what shall be done with them.

"Germany is disposed to set them at liberty, but wants to know in which direction they shall send them. The Poles are against their crossing the Polish frontiers, and the Allies are not ignorant of the fact that the majority of these prisoners are Bolsheviks, and that they would only serve to increase the armies of Lenin and Trotsky.

"There is some talk of sending them to General Denikin in order to comfort Koltchak, who is retiring before Lenin's army."

THE "PEACE" WITH AUSTRIA.

La Feuille of July 28th gives a verbatim report of the speech of the Vice-Chancellor Fink on the peace terms in the Austrian National Assembly on the previous day. In it we read the following interesting passage:—

"Our true lord and master will be the Inter-Allied Commission. At the same time the peace treaty recognises us as a sovereign independent State. As compensation for German - Austrian territory and German-Austrian national groups (the latter refers specially to Germans in Bohemia) which have been torn away from us, *the Entente offers us portions of Western Hungary.* The Entente treats the Austrians not as men, but as a flock of sheep. In face of the system of territorial conquest, we hold firmly to the principle of self-determination. . . . If we demand this right for all Germans, we wish it to be granted also to Western Hungary. We desire and hope that the Germans of Western Hungary will unite with us, but it must come about by the clear expression of their will in a free plebiscite."

Thus the Peace Conference, whilst handing over several millions of Austrians to the tender mercies of the Czecho-Slovak and Italian Governments, is nevertheless prepared to regard the territories of the Soviet Republics as spoils for those whom it has spoiled!

PORTSMOUTH CALL FOR A WORKERS' BLOCKADE.

Portsmouth No. 13 Branch of the Workers' Union, on July 18th, passed a resolution calling on the General Executive Committee of the Union to instruct its members to withhold their labour on ships carrying munitions of war to Russia.

FREE (?) SPEECH IN CHISWICK.

The Chiswick Urban District Council has asked the *Herald League*, as a condition of holding a meeting on Turnham Green Common, to sign an undertaking "that no unpatriotic or seditious speech, or remarks shall be made for and on behalf of the League."

The only way to recover the right of free public meeting on Turnham Green is for a succession of speakers to be prepared to hold meetings without permits from the C.U.D.C., and go to prison if necessary, until attempt to impose such undertakings has been broken down.

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The Russian Debate.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT PLEDGED ITSELF TO DROP THE INTERVENTION.

J. H. THOMAS SUPPORTS USE OF TROOPS TO SUPPRESS BOLSHEVISM AT HOME.

In the House of Commons, on July 29th, Mr. Winston Churchill said that the British troops would be withdrawn from Archangel and Murmansk before the winter. Also, "We are also withdrawing our troops from the Caucasus, and we are withdrawing our two battalions from Siberia."

The Labour News Service comments:—

"The determined opposition of the Labour movement in the country and of the Labour Party in Parliament to the Government's military adventures in Russia has produced a sobering effect; if not on Mr. Churchill, at least on his colleagues, with the result that the Government have now definitely committed themselves to the withdrawal of the troops from Russia by next winter."

If we could feel confident that the Government had dropped all interference with the Soviet Republics we should not care to argue as to what agency deserved the credit, though, of course, the successes of the Red Army, the discontent of the British soldiers in Russia, and the unrest in the industrial world here at home, are of more importance than any mere speeches, even if those speeches were much more vigorous than the feeble utterances of the Labour Party.

But we are not convinced that the intervention is at an end; it is only the withdrawal of the troops that is promised: Churchill openly states that the Government will continue to support Koltchak and Denikin.

Moreover, Churchill's utterances are notoriously *inexact* (to use an adjective that is very charitable under the circumstances). He has repeatedly said that only volunteers were being sent out to Russia. Yet, on July 29th, he confessed that the proportion of conscripts to volunteers in Russia is still 6 to 11, still more than a third of the total (even the "volunteers" are in numbers of cases out there against their will).

We are ready to believe that at any rate the bulk of the British troops are to be withdrawn from Murmansk and Archangel before the winter, because it has been proved that during the winter they are ineffective there; but we are not yet satisfied that the Government intends to withdraw all the British troops from Russia until its hope of defeating the Soviets has been realised.

In March Churchill stated that the British Government has a "military mission" at General Denikin's headquarters. A month ago he stated that after the withdrawal of the British Armies from Northern Russia a strong military mission would still remain. He was not cross-examined during the debate of July 29th on the subject of Military Missions; he was not directly asked whether British soldiers or officers would be kept in Russia as part of the counter-revolutionary armies of Denikin, Koltchak or some other; he was not questioned as to whether it is intended to fight the Soviets under the joint auspices of the League of Nations, instead of under the various flags of the Allies.

KOLTCHAK SUPPORTED BY AMERICAN AND JAPANESE TROOPS.

Churchill said:—

"Admiral Koltchak is supported by a considerable force of Americans, and a very much larger force of Japanese, who are holding the main line of the Siberian Railway. There are hardly any British troops there, and those that are there are coming home, with the exception of a few individuals who will be left behind to supervise the destination of some of the stores, which in the early part of the year were sent out to that theatre."

HELP FOR DENIKIN.

Churchill did not refer to the question of British troops with Denikin, but he said:—

"The kind of assistance that General Denikin requires, at present, is mainly economic. Food, clothing and boots are wanted. Men and rifles are not wanted. Very few weapons of war are wanted. [Is that because so many have been sent out already?] What is wanted are articles of barter—the cheap, ordinary necessary utensils which are the products of our great cities. . . .

". . . As far as the armies of Admiral Koltchak and General Denikin are concerned, the important aid given to them has been in munitions, and that may well amount to £20,000,000 or £30,000,000. . . I say that the munitions that we are sending out are all surplus; but, in addition, there are certain auxiliary supplies which are not surplus and which have been a direct additional charge . . . supplies of clothing and boots and some kinds of food and medical supplies."

Evidenty the latest stunt is to endeavour to cut off supplies from Soviet Russia except through counter revolution and renunciation of communism; for this reason the Allied Supreme Council is willing to administer any "Russian Babies' Fund" or other charity in Russia.

THE CAUCASUS.

"The occupation of the Caucasus is a legacy of the German war, because we went in there to expel the Germans and Turks, and we remained there only pending arrangements being decided upon as regards the future of that country. It has nothing to do with Bolshevism."

A very profitable legacy it seems, since the oilfields of Baku are included. Churchill did not mention what it is intended to do about Baku.

Churchill again showed that the Allied Governments are mainly responsible for the counter-revolutionary warfare in Russia. He indicated, without directly saying so, that the Allies were responsible for the Czecho-Slovak uprising. He definitely stated that the counter-revolutionary government in North Russia had been created by the British occupation: "the small Government which has been created by our insistence, with all the apparatus of a small administration." He went on:—

"I do not disguise from the House that I had most earnestly hoped and trusted it would be possible in the course of events for the local North Russian Government to have a separate life and existence after our departure . . . we have been ready to hold out a left hand, as it were, along the Dvina River to Admiral Koltchak, in the hope that he would be able to arrive in this district, and, by joining the local Russian forces, which amount to nearly 30,000 men, stabilise the situation and enable our affairs there to be wound up in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. But I do not feel, after the retirements which have been imposed on Admiral Koltchak, that we must indulge in that hope any longer."

HOW THE ALLIES ARE ARRANGING IT.

Nevertheless, though the British armies are retiring, the American and Japanese remain, and as Churchill stated, the Allied diplomatists in Paris have promised to Koltchak "the continuance of their support in munitions and supplies."

Says Churchill:—

"We have made a powerful contribution in munitions, and we are continuing to make it to General Denikin, and we are considering the question of economic aid and of food.

"The French have concerned themselves chiefly with the rehabilitation of Poland, the interests of Czecho-Slovakia and of Rumania, and I think I am right in saying that she has a larger body of troops on the western frontier of Bolshevism than we have employed, even at the present time, in all the various theatres.

"The Japanese have a large army—a substantial army—the largest Allied army concerned in Russian affairs, which is in Siberia, and is distributed along the line of the Siberian Railway. The Americans have a substantial force on the Siberian Railway, and I observed from the daily papers that President Wilson last week informed the Senate that it was intended to keep it there."

Evidently there is no intention of dropping the intervention. Italy perhaps is drawing out because the Italian workers have shown that they are really prepared to take action on this question. The French, who were betrayed by their leaders of the C.G.T. into dropping the general strike, should notice Churchill's words in regard to their Government. As for our own Government, it continues to supply counter-revolution with munitions and food and other necessities. Churchill says there was considerable unrest amongst the British soldiers in Russia last winter; if in response to that fewer British troops are to be sent to Russia, probably the Government will adjust the matter by doing a greater share of the work of preventing Bolshevism in Austria and Germany. Japan seems to have gone into Russia on a large scale at last; her Government has undoubtedly arranged for its pound of flesh in return for that service to counter-revolution. Allied capitalism is co-operating in the attack on the Soviets. "Any action we take in this matter will be Inter-Allied and international," says Churchill! And yet the Labour Party still assumes that the withdrawal of British troops from Russia is all that it need ask for.

CLYNES AND THOMAS LINE UP AGAINST THE WORKERS' REVOLUTION.

In the Commons debate the attack on the intervention was miserably half-hearted, and there was little to choose between the Liberal and Labour speakers. Sir D. MacLean, Asquith's representative, said:—

"As far as I can see there seems to be no doubt at all that what is happening in Russia is that we are giving to Lenin and Trotsky, or whatever may be the particular titles of the unscrupulous ruffians who may be dealing with the position there, an opportunity which we ought to take from them."

Clynes said:—

"I have not myself in any way varied or lessened my abhorrence of the methods of the Bolsheviks as they have been pursued in Russia."

He appealed to the workers not to down tools to stop the intervention, expressing regret that the Triple Alliance had taken steps which might lead to a general strike.

J. H. THOMAS SUPPORTS USE OF TROOPS.

J. H. Thomas was indignant and worried because Churchill twitted the dilatory Triple Alliance, saying: "If they do not hurry up with their general strike they will have to get out a brand new outfit of grievances."

"The working classes of this country are not cowards, Thomas protested. "If they are deliberately challenged they will accept the challenge." We wish we were sure of it, Mr. Thomas; they and you have been challenged so often without result. He said that the workers oppose the intervention, not because they believe in Bolshevism, but because they believe that an attempt is being made to interfere with the form of government that another people desires.

As to the question of Bolshevism at home, Thomas plainly showed that when the workers' revolution comes in this country he intends to line up against it. These are his words:—

"I have no hesitation in saying that in a struggle between the State and a section of the people, the State is entitled, and it is their duty, to say that all the forces of the Crown must be at their disposal. . . When the crisis happened in 1911, Mr. Asquith, who was then Prime Minister, met us at the Board of Trade. We intimated that a strike was going to take place in a few hours. He gave a reply which was not satisfactory, and, on behalf of my side, I gave an intimation that the strike was going to take place. He immediately said: 'I want to warn you that the whole resources of the State, civil and military, will be placed at the disposal of the Government in order to insure the food supplies of the people.'

Continued on Page 1446.

NEWS FROM ITALY.

By Our Special Correspondent,
Hiram K. Moderwell.

Milan, *July 22nd.*

There seems to be an international campaign afoot to make it appear that the Italian strike of yesterday was a dismal failure. This story may be believed by the workers abroad if they are not on their guard. But to one who was in Milan during the strike, the story is only laughable.

Not a tramcar moved in Milan on the 20th and 21st. Not a newspaper appeared, save the Official Bulletin of the Strike, edited by the Strike Committee, and printed by a few volunteers with the consent of the printers' union. Hardly a shop was open, save those in which the owners did their own clerking. Not a single factory, large or small, moved a wheel. On the other hand, the restaurants were open, for the Strike Committee took care not to interfere with the daily human necessities; milk was delivered as usual; electricity and gas were produced; water was supplied for drinking purposes, and the hospitals were supplied with every need.

This was the situation in every important city in northern Italy. Industry was at a complete standstill. In the seaports, shipping was largely or completely blocked. Still more remarkable, most of the 200,000 organised farm workers struck with their comrades of the city.

In central, and especially in southern Italy, where organisation is imperfect or entirely lacking, the strike was only partial. But it is northern Italy that counts in the political and industrial world, and northern Italy, for two days, was all but paralyzed. The bourgeoisie and imperialists were given a holiday with time to think about Russia and Hungary.

The case of the public services was different. Here the organisers of the strike were obliged to meet the threat of permanent dismissal, which exists in the governmental regulations, as well as the last minute recantation of the Strike Committee of the railroad workers. Nevertheless, throughout all north Italy, the lower categories of workers responded generally to the strike call, though the skilled workers and petty officials stayed on the job. No letters and few telegrams were delivered in Milan on the 21st. The railroad shops limped along on one leg. Though the passenger service was maintained, the freight service in many localities had to be curtailed.

But the great cause of the failure of the demonstration in central Italy and of its merely partial success in the public services, was the action of the French *Confederation Generale du Travail*, in "postponing" its strike at the last moment after all preparations had been made. To the Italians this seemed nothing less than treachery. It took the heart out of thousands who would otherwise have gone on strike. It spread a psychology of failure among the workers, a feeling of sinister and mysterious intrigue. It robbed the strike of its international character. It shattered the first large attempt in history to realize in a concrete act the Socialist dream of international brotherhood.

The Italian workers do not blame the French working class. They blame the leaders. But they will continue to feel uneasy so long as the French workers keep their present trade-union leaders in office. Their feeling toward the Jouhauxs of France is not exactly anger. It is rather a philosophic disgust. "What is the use," they say, "of bothering any longer with such people? Our future is with the International of Moscow."

Very little news of the British demonstrations of Sunday has reached here, but we assume that meetings were held throughout the United Kingdom as promised.

One of the most evil features of the situation is that some jingoists are utilizing the discouragement of the workers in order to arouse nationalist prejudices against Britain and France. "The British have done nothing for you," say these serpents, "and the French deserted you at the last minute. Why worry about international labour solidarity? Vive l'Italia!" These sentiments are shrewdly propagated by Turati, the reform-Socialist, who, though not a jingo, seems to be trimming his sails for political office. In a speech in Rome on Monday he spoke of the British workers as the bourgeoisie of the international proletariat. They eat five meals a day, he said. They have the eight-hour day, because they have colonies to work for them. The French have annexed the Saar basin. No wonder these people are inclined to accept the Treaty of Versailles. The implied conclusion is that the Italian working class would be better off if Italy had more colonies too.

There is a certain vicious truth in this logic. It was used with terrible success by the Imperialist-Socialists in Germany before the war. It says, in effect, that if Labour will help big capital to become successfully imperialistic, big capital will pass around some of the loot to Labour. And if big capital is shrewd, it does pass around some of the loot, and Labour seems to enjoy an easy prosperity. So far, the logic is just. But the inevitable result is war, with its hunger, misery and despair.

The Italian proletariat is not at all likely to be gulled by this argument, but it may well be weakened by it. Thousands of the less alert workers, if they fail to find help among the workers of France and England, may look for it among the imperialists of Italy.

This is the first lesson of Monday's general strike—that henceforth no proletariat can act for itself alone. The French leaders may have supposed that they were dealing with a purely French question in renouncing the strike. But in reality, they were taking a step of international political significance (to say nothing of breaking their word). Their action was simply and solely a victory for Clemenceau and international imperialism. The repercussion has already been felt in the international politics of Italy.

Again, the workers here have learned that Labour needs some open diplomacy in its own ranks. What happened in those forty minutes in which Clemenceau talked behind closed doors with the Administrative Council of the C.G.T. is something Labour ought to know. (Also, what happened when the Strike Committee of the Italian railroad workers talked with the Minister of Transportation?) Did somebody receive a political bribe? Will one of the C.G.T. leaders presently turn up in the French Cabinet? If any worker believed the reasons given by the C.G.T., he is already undeceived. The defeat of the French Government in the Chamber, which was the pretext for renouncing the strike, has proved to be of trivial consequence, even as parliamentary defeats go. Clemenceau is still in power. He is still pursuing his high tariff policy which keeps the cost of necessities above the purses of the workers. Was any of the C.G.T. leaders so simple as to believe the promises which Clemenceau is supposed to have made? Demobilization? It was already under way and inevitable. "All possible measures against the high cost of living?" Words! Amnesty? The Amnesty Bill has been announced, and it coldly refuses amnesty precisely to those prisoners who most need Labour's help—those who sought to infuse the spirit of internationalism into the workers and soldiers of France. As for Russia and Hungary, Clemenceau did not even make any promises. So the result is, that for the sake of three illusory promises the French leaders consented to leave in the lurch the Soviet Republics struggling for their lives.

Agreements of this sort, the Italian workers are saying, must not in the future be made behind closed doors. It took the railroad workers here about twenty-four hours to turn out on the street the committee which betrayed their strike. They cannot understand why the French trade unionists do not do the same thing.

The international strike broke in its weakest links. And it is a valuable thing to have found out just who the weakest links are. They are being replaced here by stronger ones. The Italian workers have about come to believe that one of the weak links in the international chain is the French Labour movement. And this link they are nearly tired of trying to patch. They are turning their faces more and more to the east, where, for them, the sun is rising.

LIKE THE BRITISH LEADERS.

In an article in *La Vie Ouvrière* for July 23rd, Pierre Monatte replies to the accusation of Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation Général du Travail, that the masses were not ready to support the International Strike:—

"—— Whose fault was this retreat at the very foot of the obstacle we had to surmount?

"Was it the fault of the masses? Or those leaders who usually talk so loudly about their mandates and their responsibilities?

"Of course, the moment the first confusion is over, the leaders do not hesitate for a moment to put all the blame on the masses. On Monday, at the National Council, Jouhaux talked of 'this demonstration, resolved upon and planned with the greatest care,' and went on to say that 'the leaders of the big unions regretted to state that the masses were not entirely ready to give it the extension and strength that were necessary.'

"Not so quickly, comrades! Don't throw all the responsibility on others. Keep your own share of it—the greatest beyond shadow of doubt.

"You are these mainly responsible for this retreat of the C.G.T. It was *you* who were not ready. You never have been ready for anything for the past five years and never will be now, it is quite plain to see!—

"So the masses were not ready, eh? Possible, even probable. But whose task, whose duty is it to prepare them for the struggle? Yours, is it not? To declare at the critical moment that they were not ready is as much as to say that you had not done your duty, either because you could not or because you would not—probably because of both. Don't, then, make your *mea culpa* on the breasts of others.

"Remember how this demonstration, 'planned,' as you put it, 'with the greatest care,' was decided upon two months ago, and think how it was prepared. If that is a sample of your well-prepared work, I don't want to see the unprepared! . . .

"When you threw in your lot with the Government's war policy, you bound yourself hand and foot for ever, and now even if you sincerely desired to free yourselves you could not do so. You lack the one thing necessary, and that is faith in the working class.

"The task was there to your hands, and you dared not face it. Of course you couldn't. Your fine plan consisted in refusing action when it might have borne good fruit [*i.e.*, at the time of the strike of the metal and chemical industries and of the 'bus and metro. services in Paris], and in pretending to seek it when it could no longer do so, so that you might turn on us and say: 'You see there is nothing doing; the masses aren't ready!' . . . .

"The workers must make a clean sweep of their war-time trade-union officials."

ANOTHER LIE NAILED.

Avanti publishes the following telegram sent by the Russian Soviet Government to its western front:—

"The Bourgeois Governments of Finland and Esthonia are spreading abroad rumours to the effect that the Red Army intends to cross the Finnish and Esthonian frontiers. The suppositions of these bourgeois governments are, from beginning to end, without foundation. No armed Red unit has crossed the frontiers of the above-named countries, and none has any intention of doing so. On the other hand, white guards from Finland and Esthonia have crossed the frontiers of Soviet Russia, carrying war into our territories, massacring the peaceful and unarmed population, and sowing death and terror everywhere. The Revolutionary War Council of Soviet Russia bids you repel the attacks of all bands of white guards who have invaded the Soviet territory. It is at the same time your duty to take measures so that no unit under your command crosses the borders of Finland and Esthonia."

"*LA FEUILLE*," JULY 14TH.

Berne.—The Central Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party, sitting at Olten, decided by 20 votes to 10 to propose to the Basle Congress entry into the Third International.

It was unanimously decided to oppose the entry of Switzerland into the League of Nations.

THE PLODDING PLOUGHMAN

(A Reply to P. E. Tanner's Verses in the "W.D.")

Daresay ye'd think it mighty fine
Ter *watch* a ploughman plough,
Or watch a lassie milkin' kine
Beneath the cherry bough;
So yer would, but, mon, ye forget
The lass and I, like you,
Must give our blood and give our sweat,
From morn till evening's dew.

Understand ye,—we love the sun,
We love the golden corn;
But work 'neath blazing heat's not fun;
Ye'd wish ye'd ne'er bin born.

If ye landsmen's toil did do
For wages, *not* for joy,
Ye'd know that we were wage slaves too:
The same slave-mixed alloy
Of flealthy brawn and servile brain;
Ah! sure we're servile, till
We one an' all refuse ter st ain
Our guts for a boss's will.

Ye must not leave your hell-machine:
Ye've furrows there to plough,—
Same as I have here 'mong these green
Slaves not yet in the know;
Plough on! Plough on! And very soon
Each boss will have ter work——
Or starve!—and then they'll chant *our* tune,
All right! O *let* them shirk!

C. B. Warwick.

THE RUSSIAN DEBATE.

(*Continued from page 1424.*)

"I did not challenge it, although it was resented, but I immediately said to my people, 'If I were Prime Minister I would do precisely the same.'

"It is a logical position. I am asked: 'What is the difference?' I will tell Hon. Members the difference. If troops are used, not for the purpose of preserving law and order, not for the purpose of supplying food, but for the purpose of blacklegging; that is an entirely different thing. . .

"I know and know all too well, that there are a large number of people who believe the best way of dealing with this question is to fight and 'damn the consequences.' But I would beg the House just to ponder for a moment on the fact. The State could have a fight. We may say: 'It is far better that we should have the fight and get it over.'

"Hear, hear!" said Members of Parliament. Thomas continued; did he warn the capitalist Government that, after all, the workers might be the victors? Did he dwell on the sufferings the struggle would entail? No; he gave another reason for avoiding the conflict.

"Yes, I know that I correctly interpreted that feeling. But let me beg the House to remember one or two facts. You could have the fight, and you could win. But the problem that we are faced with immediately, and the only problem that will save our country, is increased production."

"Hear, hear!" said Hon. Members. Thomas was proving an excellent ally to the employers. Coming from a trade union secretary, this was cheering to them. Thomas continued:—

"I ask the House fairly to consider that side of the question. Do not make any mistake. The task of those of us who are leading is not an easy one. . . . We have got to deal with the situation . . . with these masses of people. . . . I repeat that the temper of the country is bad. . . ."

Churchill's statement that the debate revealed "a fundamental agreement" aptly fits the case; but what does the N.W.R. say about it?

THE STRIKES.

A revolutionary ferment has seized sections of the British working-class, and the ferment is spreading. The sudden strike of the police, without resort to the usual wirepulling negotiations which break the back of impulsive actions, the unauthorised and apparently unpremediated sympathetic strike of Nine Elms railwaymen, the Liverpool happenings, the prolonged Yorkshire coal strike with disregard of mine flooding, are still more indicative of revolutionary tendencies, and it is noteworthy that they follow closely upon the discharged soldiers' riots at Luton and elsewhere. But the revolutionary feeling, as yet is only temperamental: it is not directed by any settled determination to change the system, to do more than obtain some small sectional concession from capitalists in power. Sometimes, perhaps that is healthier from the revolutionary standpoint, the feeling that breaks out into action is rather a vague tumultuous unrest than the concrete determination to secure any definite reform. And, healthier still, is a growing sense of working class solidarity, a steady growing realisation of cleavage between the workers and the entire employing class. There is a great appeal to the workers in the idea of the police strike, the police, hired to oppress the workers, awakening to a sense of working class solidarity, and a determination to band themselves together in a Union which shall form part of the industrial fraternity. To the railway, mining postal and other workers in public services, the freedom of the police has a more directly personal application. The Government's claim that the police must not form an industrial Union which shall affect their conditions of employment; must not link their organisation with that of other workers might be applied also to them. Already a D.O.R.A. order forbids such workers to strike. In Winnipeg, (as is explained in our account of the strike), Municipal employees as well as the police, were ordered to pledge themselves to abstain from all connection with Labour Unions, and were dismissed on refusal to obey. The methods of Capitalism are international.

A revolutionary impulse is spreading amongst the workers; but the impulse is largely, as yet, chaotic and unconscious. Why? Because Socialists have done their work inefficiently, because Socialists, instead of teaching Socialism, have hitherto spent most of their time and energy in advocating minor reforms, and endeavouring to win elections. Even today, when the hour of revolution, in all countries, is obviously approaching, the old course is constantly followed. Labour's one daily newspaper devotes much of its space to "stunts" and side shows, little to Socialism. The Labour Party and the Trade Union Officials are by no means working for Socialism; and even the revolutionary Industrialists are apt to think that shorter hours and higher wages are all that their workshop comrades can understand. Too many people are trying to take short cuts that really end in quagmires; too few are working for the social revolution.

Therefore the divine fire of discontent is largely dissipated, and its outcome is repudiated by silly people with the smug remark: "We are opposed to violence under all circumstances."

The Government's Attitude.

The Government, so anxious to avoid conflict during the war, now seems to court it. It has prevented a settlement of the Yorkshire coal-strike: the South and West Yorkshire Coal owners agreed to the 14.3 per cent increase demanded by the miners, but withdrew their agreement "as ordered by the Coal Controller."

The Hungarian Soviets.

We hesitate to believe in the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, though all the Capitalist press is ringing with the story: We remember that the fall of the Hungarian Soviets have been reported many times.

Even should the terrible news prove to be well founded, no reliance must be placed on the garbled stories appearing in the Capitalist Press; we must wait till the truth comes from Communist sources. Should the Hungarian Soviets fall, the workers of Hungary will suffer a terrible martyrdom; the White Terror will overwhelm them in a terrible revenge.

Russia in Danger.

Churchill's mocking taunt that — "if they do not hurry up with their General Strike, they will have to get hold of a brand new outfit of grievances," is a bitter warning of what might happen: it should spur us on to action. The Triple Alliance, so unwieldy and slow in its cumbersome machinery, and even slower still in its tardy growth of thought, is balloting on the question of direct action to stop the intervention, whilst the international capitalists, wilh dare devil Churchill at the helm are fighting for dear life to crush the Russian Soviet Republic on which the success of the entire workers' revolution of Europe largely depends because Russia only started the ball but can feed us all.

Koltchak is being steadily beaten backward by the Red Army' but the Red Armies are advancing Northwards Denikin though his speed is checked, still continues to advance. As the "Times" admits he "denationalises property" as he goes, tries Bolshevik prisoners by Court Martial for being Bolshevik and executes them as though their opinions were criminal. Things may not be so bright with him as the Press would have it appear. The Red Army may cut him off from the sea by marching on his rear, they are advancing from Astrakhan and "insurgent detachments" are also said to be attacking him from the rear in the Kuban region. Nevertheless we regard his successes with great anxiety. Since May 13th he seems to have advanced half the way to Moscow.

General Yudenitch is said to be ready now to make a determined advance on Petrograd. The "Times" asserts that the Allies have supplied him with plenty of food and that American Officers are supervising its distribution. According to the Soviet Wireless Press, however, Esthonian Military circles regard the Yudenitch Army as incapable whilst the Esthonians have ceased hostilities against Soviet Russia, and are negotiating peace.

The Americans are lending money to Koltchak the British Supplementary estimates the other day recorded the handing over of £4 480,000 of public money to counter-revolution There is no doubt that Capitalism is straining every nerve against the Soviets.

The Blockade of Russia is to continue; the Paris Conference says that as the Allies are no longer at peace with Russia, the blockade is justifiable. The "Temps" reports that the Allied Council hoped Koltchak would be able to proclaim a blockade of the Black Sea, which the Council would have recognised, and that the capture of Petrograd would cutoff Bolshevik access to the Black Sea. These hopes Capitalism still hoped to realise. Russian Capitalism under such "democratic" titles as the All Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, the Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions and the Merchant Trading Co., Ltd., are being given British Goverement facilities to trade with Russia through the Kara Sea. Manchester Manufacturers are said to be reducing their prices much below the current market rates in order to secure the trade.

The following starling news from Helsingfors shows to what lengths some lovers of "democracy" will go: —

Helsingfors,

July 25. — The Finnish Diet to-day elected Professor K. J. Stahlberg, President of the Finnish Republic, with 143 votes. General Mannerheim received 58 votes,— Reuter.

Professor Stahlberg was the Socialist and Progresive candidate. A later Reuter message states that it is reported that he will not take office. It had previously been stated that Allied financial assistance would be refused unles Mannerheim was elected.

Henderson at Lucerne

Press reports of a speech by Henderson at the conference of the second International in Berne indicate th: sinister part that he is playing. He declared that these signs, are a omimous signs he called them, of a coming great social upheaval. Even Henderson, dull to the new life as he is can foresee the Revolution approaching. But he does not welcome it: he asserted that it is the duty of the Second International " to warn the governments of the magnitude of the crisis and its menacing possibilities " why should those who call thesmelves Socialists warn the capitalist governments? why should they do anything to help the goverments to maintain their power over the workers?

In regard to Russia Henderson is reported by the " Times " as saying:—

'Steps must be taken to ascertain how far the Russian Soviet Government was prepared to modify irs present attitude and to abandon some of its methods as the report of the American Mission indicated they were ready to do. Diplomatic relations with them would then be possible and the Internationale must renew its efforts to obtain facilities for duly accredited commissions to visit Russia and Hungary and report on the political and economic situation there. Their plain duty as internationalists was to get in touch with all classes of Russian Socialists and the revolutionary Governments, in order to endeavour to promote better relations and maintain Labour solidarity.

(*Continued on Page 1427 col. 3.*)

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

JULY 28TH.—Asked whether the Government would consider taking a referendum upon the subject of the nationalisation of coal, Mr. Bonar Law said that he did not regard the proposal as "practicable."

KOLTCHAK.

Mr. Harmsworth announced that it is incorrect to say that Admiral Koltchak's Government has been "formally recognised by the Allies." His recent failures no doubt are answerable for this!

RESCUED EGYPT!

The Egyptian Government, Mr. Bonar Law stated, contributes £150,000 per annum towards the Army of Occupation in Egypt, Great Britain bearing the "whole cost." Sir A. Fell, on hearing this, exclaimed: "Does the right hon. gentleman think that the defence of Egypt which we saved from ruin, is satisfactorily paid by a contribution of £150,000!" No man can fathom the ingratitude of people thus rescued by British benevolence!

IRELAND.

It will not be possible for the Government to formulate any policy for Ireland before the recess, Mr. Bonar Law explained. Why not accept the policy which the Irish have already formulated?

MINERS' STRIKE.

JULY 29TH.—Asked whether troops were not in readiness at Clipstone Camp, Notts., to strike-break, Captain Guest answered in the negative, adding: "It has never been the policy of the Government to use troops for such a purpose"!

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

CAPTAIN GUEST: "Whenever you have troops in a country—enemy or otherwise—the Government consider that freedom of expression is not always advisable." Who said "freedom or liberty"?

RUSSIA.

The present tactics of the Allies in Russia were debated at length, Sir Donald Maclean (L.) opening the discussion with the repetition of all the promises and pledges of non-interference in the affairs of a foreign country given by the Prime Minister. Lord Robert Cecil, while declining to countenance Bolshevism, also strongly condemned intervention. He referred to the plans for seizing Moscow as "fantastic nonsense." Mr .Clem. Edwards (L.) distinguished himself by asserting that it was necessary for civilisation to stamp out Bolshevism in Russia! Mr. Churchill, in reply, admitted that in North Russia there were eleven volunteers to six conscripts; so much for his army of *only* volunteers! It is the intention of the Government to withdraw before the winter, he assured the House. In fact if it had not been for the *betrayal* of the Allies by the Russians the British would never have gone to Russia! Mr. Churchill's story of the beginning of intervention needs some correction, so do most of his facts about the true situation in Russia. But when it is a question of defending an Empire, what *do* facts matter?

BOLSHEVISM.

JULY 30TH.—According to Mr. Shortt the "*real*" facts about Bolshevism are described daily in the papers, therefore Arthur Ransome's book, "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919," does not require any reply, and the leaflet circulated with extracts from same will not be interfered with. Are all the "*real*" facts as full of truth as the nationalisation of women? Mr. Shortt further alleged that Mr. Ransome could not be regarded as an authority, as he had only made a short trip to Russia! That despite the fact that he was Russian correspondent for the *Daily News* for years!

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

Colonel Wedgwood (L.), during the debate on the Colonial Office, remarked that capitalists in this country were inclined to view Crown Colonies in Africa from the point of view of "how much dividends we can get out of them." He further pointed out that the land there is being rapidly taken away from the natives, only thirteen per cent. being now in their possession!!

ENEMY ALIENS.

JULY 31ST.—Now that one is told that peace is declared the expression "enemy alien" rings strange, but stranger still is Mr. Shortt's statement that there are 3,256 Germans still interned in this country.

PENSIONS.

Sir L. Worthington-Evans announced that the new flat-rate scale of pensions had been accepted by the Government. Some of the most important changes are: A single man totally disabled will get 40/-, or a rise of 7/- per week. A married man, 50/-, or a rise of 17/-. A married man with one child, 57/6, or a rise of 16/6. These sums are a vast improvement, as regards figures, but unless the cost of living falls greatly, there is little effect to be hoped from such "increases." As Mr. Hodge said, the advance "is not too generous."

POLICE BILL.

AUGUST 1ST.—Mr. Clynes (Lab.) moved the rejection of all the clauses in the Police Bill curtailing liberty: but without avail—the Bill was read a third time and *passed*! So little does the Government care for the opinion of the rank and file.

M. O'C.

THE LABOUR WAR IN U.S.A.

At Toledo, Ohio, the Willy's Overland Company, locked out 16,000 workers on May 5th because they refused to give up the 8 hour day, Saturday half-holiday, and the right of collective bargaining. The Mayor of Toledo hired ex-soldiers to protect the company and prevent picketing; two workers were killed by them and 19 injured. A federal injunction has been granted against picketing.

At Argo, Cook County, Illinois, the employees of the Corn Products Refining Company, desired to bargain through their union. The general manager of the company agreed that a vote of the workers in the factory should be taken to decide whether this principle should be adopted. Everything was prepared, but the day before the ballot was to take place it was forbidden; the workers struck on July 8th. Then it was found that the firm had prepared beds in the factory for strike breakers and guards and had guns ready for the guards. C. W. Peters, who was elected as Sheriff the previous November on the Republican ticket, was well known for his zeal in strike breaking; he lent his services and those of the Deputy Sheriffs to the company and organised a squad of gunmen. On July 8th the gunmen made a sortie in which they killed 3 people, and wounded a score. On July 14th they again fired on the people and wounded six men and women. In the meantime a recruiting office for the squad had been opened at the Sheriff's office and recruits were sworn in at 30/- a day with board and lodging thrown in if they chose to accept it. The *New Majority*, from which we take this information, reports that even the capitalist Press admitted that there was no firing by the strikers and that it was all done by the squad organised by the Sheriff.

LABOUR PARTY CENSURES NEIL MACLEAN.

The Parliamentary Labour Party has passed a resolution expressing disapproval of Neil MacLean's action in refusing to stand up when the National Anthem was played in the House of Commons. The meeting considered that as he was a Junior Whip—an official of the Party—he ought to have followed the example of his colleagues. Just think what it meant: the Labour Party is building up a reputation for being thoroughly respectable and Neil MacLean goes and gets himself made disreputably conspicuous by bringing down the howls of the entire House upon himself. Labour men who are dying to be received in the smoking room and elsewhere on equal terms with other Members, who want desperately to loose that working class label, are really indignant at this behaviour. Sir Owen Thomas threatened to leave the Party if Mr. MacLean were not called on to resign his office of Junior Whip. The Labour News Service says it remains to be seen "whether he will find himself satisfied with this unanimous expression of disapproval."

Whether the mass of the Labour Party outside Parliament is satisfied by this sort of snobbery does not seem to be taken into account; the rank and file in Bishop Auckland, for instance, we think, will by asking Ben Spoor whether he joined in the "unanimous expression of disapproval"; and there are some other I.L.P. Members who may be questioned.

This incident shows how futile it is for the movement to expend its energy in sending men to Parliament instead of organising to take control on its own account.

ALIENS.

The Standing Committee of the House of Commons has decided that no former enemy alien shall remain here or enter this country for two years without permission of the Home Secretary. In Soviet Russia there are no aliens; irrespective of nationality all who desire to live and work there are treated as equals.

A MODERN BO PEEP.

Two hundred soldiers attended a meeting of cotton operatives on strike at Brescia in Italy. The commandant sent the officers to bring the soldiers home, but they refused to leave, and when the armed picket call was sounded, they replied by singing the Workers' hymn and the International.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA" DEMONSTRATION.

Although thousands of miners made a strong protest against intervention in Russia on July 21st by refraining from work, yet had the S.W.M.F. Executive given a lead, undoubtedly the whole of the miners would have been idle. Once again an instance of the apathy of the Executive is recorded. It had mouthed vehemently against intervention; but had not the courage to give a lead. Are we to believe that the members of the Executive are insincere in their protestations against intervention? Facts give some support to this conviction, at any rate. The next time it is intended to give a material form to our protest, the rank and file conference must make its own recommendations, and not leave that power in the hands of the Executive, unless the Executive is so constituted that it can be depended upon to give a lead.

The May Day Demonstrations and the "Hands Off Russia" Demonstrations are two well known instances of the Executive's inability to give a lead to the rank and file that ardently wished for such a lead.

Owing to a few men working on the 21st, when that day was declared a Demonstration Day, a few groups of miners struck work as a protest. Viewing the matter as a whole, it can be said that it registers the increase in the number of those workers who disagree with the Government policy for attempting to crush Soviet Russia.

TWENTY NATIONS AGAINST ONE.

1, †French; 2, †Senegalese; 3, †Japanese; 4, †Americans; 5, †Italians; 6, †Serbians; 7, †Greeks; 8, †Roumanians 9, †Czecho-Slovaks; 10, †Canadians; 11, British; 12, ‡Germans; 13, §Chinese; 14, §Swedes; 15, ‖Finns; 16, ‖Poles; 17, ‖Esthonians; 18, ‖Ukrainians; 19, ‖Lithuanians; 20, ‖Georgians.

All these have sent soldiers against the Workers' Government of Russia.

† Those marked thus have, as soldiers, protested against the war against Russian workers; some have mutinied; French raised the Red Flag.

‡ Germans allowed, compelled, by Armistice and peace terms to fight for the Allies against the Soviets.

§ Those marked thus are not under own officers, but recruited as "volunteers," though really under their governments.

‖ The six marked thus were originally subjects of the Russian Czar; Soviets allowed them independence; now under reactionary dictators or Allied pressure they are fighting (unwillingly) against the Russian Revolution which set them free.

Russian Workers are putting up a plucky fight in spite of the

"20 TO 1 AGAINST."

THE STRIKES, continued.

This appears to mean that diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia are not possible now but will become possible when the Soviet Government has modified its attitude and has abandoned some of its methods at the bidding of its Allied Capitalist Governments. If it does not mean that, what does it mean It also suggests that there are other Governments in Russia beside the Soviet Governments with which the Socialists of this and other countries must get into touch. Which Governments are these? Can Mr. Henderson name them? Do they include the Government established by the British intervention in Northern Russia. It must be remembered that Henderson welcomed and assisted Kerensky when he came to this country asking fo intervention.

When Henderson is at his best, he is only a very tame Liberal. Because of his political outlook and position in the Labour movement we regard him as a danger to Socialism and the working class.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

BELA KUN AND CLEMENCEAU.

Full text of Bela Kun's telegram, from 'Avanti!' July, 15th, 1919.

Bela Kun, Commissary for Foreign Affairs, has addressed the following telegram to Clemenceau.

"In your telegram of June 12th, you declared that if our troops, in the struggle which they have been compelled to make, had evacuated the territories handed over to the Czecho-Slovak Republic and had retired behind the frontier which has been fixed for the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the King of Roumania's troops would, in their turn, have immediately retired behind the frontier detailed in your telegram.

"In my reply to this, and in subsequent communications, I declared that the Hungarian Soviet Republic desired to give proof that it was against useless bloodshed, by carrying out your suggestions.

"Events have proved that I kept my promise—all the more so that I agreed with you in thinking that frontiers imposed by force of arms could not subsist as national boundaries. At the same time I asked you to obtain all possible guarantees with respect to the carrying out of the orders of the Allied Governments by the Roumanian Army. These objective guarantees have not been received. In my last telegram I declared that I accepted as a subjective guarantee your statement which secured to us the evacuation by the Roumanian troops of the devastated territories and their withdrawal beyond the River Theiss (Tisza.)

"Your representatives, Mr. President,* will certainly have informed you that our troops have ceased to fight the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and that on June 24th they occupied the frontier of the neutral zone fixed by agreement with General Pellé.

"We were therefore fully justified in expecting that, in accordance with your telegram of June 13th, the Roumanian troops would carry out the orders of the Allied and Associated Governments, would begin to retire behind the frontier specified and that, shewing themselves ready for peace, they would respond to your appeal, according to which frontiers realised by force of arms could not form real national boundaries.

But now, in spite of their promises and yours, the King of Roumania's troops have not begun their retreat; on the contrary after this very date, June 24th, they made attacks in several places, notably at Tiscaluc. Sanguinary losses were inflicted upon them. Whilst I deplore so much useless bloodshed, it was precisely the weight of your own word of honour which constrained us to act so as to prevent the Roumanians from initiating more or less important attacks against us, contrary to the orders of the Allied and Associate Governments.

"With respect to the acts of violence perpetrated by the Roumanian Army, and the massacre of such large numbers of workmen, I should prefer not to be compelled to speak of them. We desire simply to remark that the regions of France laid waste by the troops of Hindenburg are veritable oases compared with the desert made by the Roumanians in the economic life of the districts in question. Allow me to ask, Mr. President, whether your word and that of the Allied and Associate Governments possess sufficient power to bring about the retirement of the Roumanians to the line fixed by these same Governments?

"We believe that you will have the power to prevent any unnecessary slaughter, even when your orders are not addressed to pacific Governments with an anti-imperialist policy like the Hungarian Soviet Government, which has, you will have noticed, put an end to the massacre, after a victorious campaign against the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

"We beg you, Mr. President, to enforce your will on the army of the King of Roumania, in the same way as the Hungarian Soviet Government has interrupted a victorious campaign, undertaken against its will, because forced upon it by the Czecho-Slovaks. Be so good as to renew your orders of the 13th of June.

"It is only on this basis that we shall be able to justify our action in the eyes of the people of the Hungarian Republic, who have accepted your declaration as a guarantee.

"In the hope that the Allied and Associate Governments will be able to make good their orders in face of the King of Roumania's forces, I give you, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) BELA KUN."

*Bela Kun addresses Clemenceau as "Président du Conseil," as we should say Premier.

"Avanti!" comments as follows:—

The facts of the question are known to our readers. On June 13th M. Clemenceau asked the Hungarian Soviet Government to stop its triumphant offensive against the Czecho Slovaks (who had made an unprovoked attack on Hungary) and to retire inside a frontier line determined by the Paris Conference, promising that the Roumanians, on their side, would evacuate that part of Hungarian territory which the Peace Conference had not assigned to them, but which they had nevertheless invaded and laid waste.

The Soviet Republic accepted, and by June 24 had withdrawn all Hungarian troops within the prescribed boundary. But, as may be seen from this telegram, the Roumanians refrained from carrying out their movement of withdrawal.

This then is how they wished to deceive the Hungarian Soviet Government? It seems like it, to judge from a notice appearing in the "Corriere della Sera"† which runs as follows: "When the Red troops had abandoned to the Czechs the territories occupied in the recent offensive, the Roumanians refused to quit the lines they were holding, telling the Bolshevik envoy *that in so doing they were acting on the orders of the Entente.*"

We believe, for our part, that Clemenceau is quite capable of this and more: the French ruling classes are ruthless against rebels within their gates, (we have but to think of the Commune!) one can imagine what they would be like against those of an 'enemy' country!

†Italian clerical reactionary paper.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia.

SATURDAY, AUG. 9th

Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in Poplar and Bow. Meet at 3 p.m. at 20 Railway Street. Meetings at Grundy St., at 3.30 p.m., and at St. Stephen's Road, Bow, at 7 p.m. Speakers: S. Hanson, Ph. Edmunds, and others.

SUNDAY, AUG. 10th

Osborn St., Whitechapel — 11.45 a.m., S. Hanson.

Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., F. H. Burnett, J. H. Moore.

SATURDAY, AUG. 16th.

Great Push in Lewisham and Camberwell.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, AUG 11th.

20, Railway Street—7.30 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. business meeting.

400, Old Ford Rd.—8 p.m. General members' meeting, (London Section.)

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUG. 12th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Rd.—3 p.m. J. Cant

THURSDAY. AUG. 14th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30 p.m. East London Workers' Committee.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE

A GRAND SOCIAL AND DANCE
to welcome David Ramsay after his long term of imprisonment will take place at
CROWN HALL, Redman's Road, Jubilee Street, E.
SATURDAY, AUG. 23rd.
Doors open at 6.30 p.m. Dancing, 9—12 o'c.
Tom Mann, will speak. Well known operatic artists will appear.
Jazz band in attendance.
Admission by Ticket One Shilling.

COVENTRY WORKERS COMMITTEE.

L. Jackson, Propaganda Secretary, 65, Severn Road, reports that the above Committee joined the local Labour Party in a Conference to deal with the 'Hands off Russia' resolution, but found that they were only prepared to demonstrate on the 20th. The Workers' Committee delegates raised a protest and a resolution was carried calling on the Secretary of the Labour Party to instruct the District and Branch Committees to call aggregate meetings during the week to test the feeling of their members regarding the 24-hr. strike on the 21st. The local officials of the T.U. movement practically ignored the resolution, with the exception of three organisations, and one of these, the A.S.E., decided to down tools on the 21st. Owing to the inclement weather, the Demonstration was held in the A.S.E. Institute The speakers were Toynbee and Dr. Marion Phillips of London, and W. Gee. A resolution was carried almost unanimously supporting 'our French and Italian comrades in declaring a 24-hr. strike.' On Saturday W. Gee and Tom Dingley held meetings on the Pool Meadow at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. They were a huge success and the collections and sales of literature were the best that Coventry has had for many a long day.

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WALTER PONDER, East London Workers. Committee, is willing to speak at week-ends. Terms: out-of-pocket expenses. Address: 10, Kempston Mews, Mintern Street, New North Road, London, N.1.

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